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ABSTRACT

Psychology teaching should intentionally aim to encourage adult development. By explicitly recognizing key dimensions of development, psychology teachers can more effectively achieve their own course objectives and the broader objectives of the profession. Such aims are consistent with the traditional mission of the university and the psychology professions, and the behaviors and resources required are workable, feasible and within the ability of most good teachers. J. Loevinger's conceptions concerning ego development form the major framework for analyzing an approach to teaching that fulfills these aims. A detailed description is given of how a psychology teacher provided students with three options for texts, each coinciding with one of the three stages of ego development most characteristic of college students, and how study of the texts was used to encourage students' further development.
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Psychology Teaching and Lifelong Learning

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Psychology Teaching and Lifelong Learning

I am going to argue for two basic propositions: (1) Psychology teaching should intentionally aim to encourage adult development, (2) By explicitly recognizing key dimensions of development, psychology teachers will more effectively achieve their own course objectives and the broader objectives of the profession.

I hang my argument on three basic points. First, such intentional efforts are consistent with the traditional mission of the University and consistent with basic requirements of Psychology's varied professions. Second, we know enough to undertake such efforts; the behaviors and resources required are workable, financially feasible, and within the sophistication and behavioral repertoires of most good teachers. And third, we don't have much choice, because if our practices are of any consequence at all, then we are having an effect anyway, for better or worse.

There is a voluminous literature describing the traditional mission of colleges and universities. One of the most powerful and articulate formulations was set forth by Cardinal Newman in 1852, in his Idea of a University. His ringing words sound as pertinent today as they must have then.

But a University training is the great ordinary means to a great but ordinary end; it aims at raising the intellectual tone of society, at cultivating the public mind, at purifying the national taste, at supplying true principles to popular enthusiasm and fixed aims to popular aspiration, at giving enlargement and sobriety to the ideas of the age, at facilitating the exercise of political power, and refining the intercourse of private life. It...gives a man a clear conscious view of his own opinions and judgments, a truth in developing them, an eloquence in expressing them, and a force in urging them. It teaches him to see things as they are, to go right to the point, to disentangle a skein of thought to detect what is sophisticated, and to discard what is irrelevant. It prepares him to fill any post with credit, and to master any subject with facility. It shows him how to accommodate himself to others, how to throw himself into their state of mind, how to bring before them his own, how to influence them, how to come to an understanding with them, how to bear with them. He is at home in any society, he has common ground with every class; he knows when to speak and when to be silent;... he can ask a question pertinently, and gain a lesson seasonably, when he has nothing to impart himself;... he is a pleasant companion and a comrade you can depend upon;... He has the repose of mind which lives in itself, while it lives in the world,

and which has resources for happiness at home when it cannot go abroad. (pp. 177-178)

That paragraph is hard to match for eloquence. Its major points are remarkably consistent with most contemporary statements. It is also the case that Newman is talking about major dimensions of adult development for which there is a good deal of consensus among us social scientists. Here are some translations.

Read "a clear conscious view of his own opinions and judgments, a truth in developing them, an eloquence in expressing them, and a force in urging them" and we have moral and ethical development, integrity, and communication skills. Read, see things as they are, go right to the point, disentangle a skein of thought, detect what is sophisticated, discard what is irrelevant, and we have intellectual competence, -- analysis, synthesis, and evaluation -- those higher levels of Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives in the Cognitive Domain. "To fill any post with credit and to master any subject with facility" gives us professional preparation and self-directed learning. "He is at home in any society, he has a common ground with every class" supplies that cross-cultural understanding and sense of interdependence so critical to our times. "A repose of mind which lives in itself, while it lives in the world" provides a solid sense of identity. "Accommodate himself to others, throw himself into their state of mind, bring before them his own, come to an understanding, bear with them,

and we have the major elements of interpersonal competence and the identification and empathy required for Robert White's expansion of caring and Erikson's "generativity." Moreover, "a pleasant companion and a comrade you can depend on" provides a capacity for intimacy which goes beyond mere competence and tolerance.

My basic point is that those objectives extolled by Newman and addressed so ubiquitously in our bulletins and mission statements are simply nickle words for some of our most thoroughly researched areas of adult development. And conversely, ego development, intellectual development, interpersonal competence, expansion of caring, generativity, capacity for intimacy, moral and ethical development, integrity, career development, as simply social science terms for the values and purposes espoused through history by colleges and universities. To address such development intentionally and explicitly is entirely consistent with the mission and social role of higher education.

It is also consistent with bedrock requirements for professional preparation in psychology. In my judgment professional effectiveness and more general social contributions by psychologists are close to impossible if those professionals have not achieved reasonably high levels of ego development, intellectual competence, interpersonal competence, moral and ethical development, humanitarian concern and integrity. Thus, by encouraging such development we also strengthen our contributions to professional preparation. Furthermore, the activities called for to address these areas are synergistic with activities by

which we achieve more immediate objectives concerning specific kinds of knowledge and competence needed to fill numerous other professional roles.

Now let me try to make this more concrete by turning to my second point. I believe we do know enough to create this synergy by teaching in ways which address both key dimensions of adult development and basic professional objectives. I've chosen ego development as a major framework for considering some general implications and also as a framework for analyzing an approach to teaching that most challenging course in our curriculum familiarly known as "Intro."

I have chosen Jane Loevinger's conceptions concerning ego development because they present one of the most comprehensive integrations currently available and because I agree with her assertion that ego development is a "master trait" whose different structures influence heavily other major developmental areas. I might have taken a more narrow focus, using, for example, Kolberg's theories concerning cognitive/moral development or Perry's scheme concerning intellectual/ethical development. The number of persons applying these theories to various educational practices is increasing rapidly and I commend that growing body of research and theory to any reader who wants to pursue these ideas more specifically. But I decided to tackle the larger perspectives offered by ego development because these ideas provide multiple handles for application and a broader range of implications.

Table 1 presents Loevinger's basic sequence of successive developmental structures, each of which comprises an "interwoven fabric of impulse control, character, interpersonal relations, conscious preoccupations and cognitive complexity..." (pg. 26) There is not time for a detailed discussion of these ideas, but I do want to mention four of her key principles.

First, ego development does not consist of four separate dimensions. There is just one dimension and the four columns describe the elements of a single coherent process.

Second, each stage is additive; it is a structural transformation of the ingredients of earlier stages. Ice, water, and steam are basically H_2O , but their structural characteristics, the interactions among the molecules, their external form, the conditions which create and sustain them, their impact on their environment, vary greatly. So also do the transformations of these four major elements of ego development as one moves from stage to stage.

Third, "ego development is at once a developmental sequence and a dimension of individual differences in any age cohort." Age and stage are not highly correlated. According to Loevinger "the average stage for a given age is not the same as the average age for a given stage." (pg. 13) Thus she resists age classification and seeks to describe every stage in a way that applies to a wide range of ages.

This means that these conceptions are pertinent descriptors of individual differences among typical college age students as well as among diverse adults throughout the life cycle. Therefore the implications are as pertinent for those of us who teach only traditional students as they are for those of us concerned with undergraduate programs to serve older constituencies or with continuing education for older professionals.

Finally, Loevinger is explicit that developmental stage is not necessarily associated with increased happiness, adjustment or mental health. She says,

There is a temptation... to assume that the best adjusted people are those at the highest stages. This is a distortion. There are probably well adjusted people at all stages... Probably those who remain below the conformist level beyond childhood can be called maladjusted... Some self-protective, opportunistic persons, on the other hand, become very successful... Certainly it is a conformist's world, and many conformists are very happy with it though they are not all immune to mental illness.

Probably to be faithful to the realities of the case one should see the sequence as one of coping with increasingly deeper problems rather than as the successful negotiation of solutions." (1970, p. 7)

Figures 2 and 3 develop some of the implications of Loevinger's ideas for motivation and orientations toward knowledge and for educa-

tional practices. I present these figures with some trepidation. They represent extreme reductionism and oversimplification. Loevinger warns explicitly against such behavior when she says, "Through stage names suggest characteristics which are usually at a maximum for each stage, nothing less than the total pattern defines a stage. An attempt to reason about ego development by rigid interpretation of stage names can lead to disastrous errors." (pg.15) Well, I hope we can avoid disastrous errors. My object here is to suggest a matrix of hypothetical relationships which can provide a starting point for more complex thinking about application, experimentation and research. These relationships are consistent with substantial research and theory concerning college influences on student development, so they are not simply pulled out of thin air. But they certainly need much more detailed scrutiny and testing before they can stand as demonstrated propositions.

The basic point made by these Figures is that different motives for learning, orientations toward knowledge, educational practices,

student-faculty relationships and methods of evaluation are systematically linked in ways that are consistent with different levels of ego development. The problem is that many institutions are only oriented toward one or two developmental levels although their students span the full range. The educational practices and resources at most institutions are almost exclusively oriented toward the opportunistic, conforming to persons and conforming to rule levels of ego development. They put a premium on memorization and getting right words in the rote order. They treat education as though it were a commodity, a collection of discrete, fragmented items, packaged in standard sized boxes, sold by the Carnegie unit. The supermarket is the dominant metaphor; marketing experts discuss next year's "offerings" in the light of shifting student interests and styles.

Take any ten institutions at random. How many curricula, courses, classes and examinations help students build knowledge from personal experiences and personally generated syntheses and paradigms? How many teachers help students not only acquire basic concepts, competence and knowledge, but also help them apply that competence in responsible action settings or use those learnings to make better sense of life and of themselves, to generate personal insights through subjective and dialectical processes.

Most institutions and teachers treat truth as objectively real, given by authority, or "discovered" by logical or scientific analyses.

Conceptions concerning the nature of knowledge, where it comes from and how it is to be used emphasize acquiring information or competence in order to satisfy immediate needs, obtain recognition, do a job or fill a role.

These relationships become more apparent when explicit teaching practices, student-faculty relationships, and orientations toward evaluation are examined. The lecture-examination system as often practiced is responsive to the protective, dependent, opportunistic, and conforming-to-persons levels of ego development. The key dynamic here is the comfortable fit between the student's disposition to identify with persons in authority, to accept their definitions of right and wrong, to avoid punishment by deferring to their power; and the teacher's assertion of authority, an emphasis on dispensing information for students to memorize, and use of exams to punish wrong answers and reward right ones. When the lecture-examination approach goes beyond the personal authority of the teacher and makes use of more abstract authority, as often is the case, then the approach moves to an authority-rule-, and social-order-oriented level. Here it is the system that defines right and wrong. The same authoritarian or authoritative dynamic occurs except that it is more generalized. Of course lectures can also provide opportunities for the teachers to model skills of analysis, synthesis, and evaluation, and to ask students to go through similar exercises. There also are many "right answers" useful for many students. So we need to recognize the potential

values of this approach as well as the limitations that characterize typical practices.

Socratic dialogue, or teacher-led discussions, respond to the opportunistic and conformist levels. They provide rich information about the teacher's views and permit students to shape their own responses accordingly, receiving immediate rewards through the satisfying exchanges that result. "Open," "leaderless," "learner-centered" discussions often suit the conformist level where sensitivity, pleasing and helping others, acceptance of group decisions are called for. Programmed learning, correspondence study, and most other forms of "mediated instruction" currently used fit well the authority, rule, and social-order orientation.

Contract learning can take two forms. In one form the objectives are set by the student; the time, activities, and criteria for evaluation result from negotiations between the student and teacher. The contract is a commitment to the plan developed, and the plan is to be held to throughout unless major events call for renegotiation. This approach to contract learning best fits the individualistic and autonomous stages of ego development. In the second form of contract learning the student, with or without help from the teacher and others, defines the objectives, time, activities, and criteria for evaluation. The "contract" may be quite specific or very general. In either case it will be held to flexibly and modified in the light of experience as it is pursued. This approach to contract learning best fits the integrated stages.

These different teaching practices also are expressions of different approaches to student-teacher relationships and evaluation. The teacher as an authority, transmitter, socializer, judge, who carries sole responsibility for evaluation, best fits the self-protective and opportunistic stages. Where the teacher is a model, known well enough to permit student identification, and where evaluation includes fellow students as well as the teacher, the fit is with the conformist and conscientious-conformist stages. In programmed learning and other forms of mediated instruction the teacher is an abstraction behind the system. Criteria for evaluation are specified by the system and responses are usually mechanically scored. In contract learning the teacher is a resource person who contributes to planning and evaluation. The relationship may be more or less collegial, and the student may carry more or less responsibility for defining the program and for evaluation, depending on the approach used. The student-faculty relationships and approaches to evaluation in contract learning best fit the autonomous and integrated stages of ego development.

Many questions need to be raised about the categorical assignments made in Figures 2 and 3, and about the categorical statements in the paragraphs above. Any boxing of persons and educational practices surely compromises the complexity of both. Such oversimplifications

need to be met with questions, exceptions, counterarguments, and clarifications. In particular, we should recognize two points:

1. Autonomous students who are intellectually competent and skilled in interpersonal relationships can turn most teachers and learning environments to good use. Their behavior during lectures, preparation for exams, use of mediated instruction, conversations with fellow students -- all will differ from their conformist or self-protective peers. So they will not necessarily experience those teaching practices in the same ways or be similarly influenced by them.
2. The match-ups between the student's status and the educational setting or practice may work well for acquiring certain kinds of knowledge and competence, but they may not help foster student change from one level of development to the next. The limited research and experience available to date suggests that change from one developmental level to another occurs most readily when a student encounters intellectual challenges, moral dilemmas, and interpersonal environments one stage above that at which she or he normally functions. When the gap is greater than one level, change seems less likely to occur.

These hypothetical relationships suggest a way of thinking about and planning higher education in order to strengthen our capacity to recognize and intentionally enhance adult development throughout the life cycle. We can modify our typical teaching practices, student-faculty relationships and approaches to evaluation in ways which recognize developmental diversity and help students at each stage move toward higher levels. The lecture-examination system can be used to raise powerful questions, to expose unfettered relativism, to challenge dualistic thinking, and foster principled autonomy, commitments in relativism, responsible, executive and reintegrative levels of intellectual development. Seminars and group discussions can also be managed in ways which encourage similar outcomes. Faculty members can be authoritative without being authoritarian, they can enter collegial relationships as resource persons to students and at the same time be a source of critical appraisal and thoughtful evaluation.

Any institution, discipline or professional preparation curriculum, will have students at all these developmental levels. Because of this diversity we cannot simply pitch our teaching practices at a particular stage. Many opportunistic and conformist students come to higher education with important immediate and instrumental purposes that deserve to be met. These purposes should not be ignored; these students should not be turned away and turned off. But neither will their needs be fully served if they are not helped to see more clearly the

developmental dynamics by which they are more generally governed. Alternatives also need to be created that serve students at more complex levels of development but neither can an institution limit itself simply to those more complex levels. We must be responsive to the full range of stages brought to us by the students we aim to serve.

Let me now illustrate how some of these ideas might apply to that departmental favorite which we all clamor to teach, Introductory Psych. 101, or its equivalent. Probably there are few freshman or sophomore courses where the gap between student motives and course content, between what they expect and what they find, what they want and what they get, is so great. So we begin with content which is distant from the students most pressing developmental concerns, in the very area where they finally hoped to get some useful insights. If our educational strategies and teaching practices are also developmentally out of step then our problems are seriously compounded.

For four years back in the early 60's, I struggled with this course pretty much the way most of my colleagues did. I picked out what I thought was the most lively and pertinent text, selected provocative examples and exercises which I hoped connected with student's concerns, and worked my way through perception, motivation, learning, human development and so forth. A few students became interested but for most of them it was something to survive so they could get to personality theory and abnormal. Most of them were bored and I certainly

was. I used pre- and post multiple choice tests which I constructed rather easily simply by lifting numerous items from the ubiquitous workbooks and teachers guides I received with the frequent mailings of complimentary materials from publishers eager to capitalize on burgeoning enrollments.. Students made what seemed to me to be reasonable gains, although there were certainly no criteria for what a reasonable gain was supposed to be that I could find anywhere. Nor was there any basis for criterion referenced evaluation. I was sufficiently un-optimistic about retention that I never had the nerve to readminister those tests six months or a year later even though I had many students in subsequent courses and I was at a small residential college where that would have been quite easy.

One June day, in my fifth year, I was sitting in my office, staring at twelve different complimentary introductory textbooks lined up ponderously on my desk, contemplating the fall semester with a mixture of despair and anguish wondering whether there was any way I and the students might somehow get through the Intro course more productively and more happily. I laid several textbooks out in front of me and started perusing their respective Tables of Contents checking out relative areas of emphasis, what was asserted as known and what questions "needed further research", and of course making sure that favorite topics which, in my view, were absolutely essential to a career in psychology, were covered. Then I had what, in my second

lecture and demonstration on perception, students learn to call "an AHA experience." For some strange reason I asked myself, "Why shouldn't the students be addressing these questions of emphasis, facts, uncertainty?" "Why not have the students examine these different texts, ascertain the different emphases of the varied authors, identify what was called fact and what was still open to question, take particular personal concerns or professional aspirations and search out pertinent concepts, principles, hypotheses, or experimental paradigms?"

I figured I had little to lose. I knew it would be more interesting for me. Maybe it would work better for them as well. So I redesigned the course, I put my twelve complimentary copies on reserve in the library and had the bookstore order eight copies of each. Then I wrote a brief piece entitled How to Select Your Own Text which was made available to all enrollees together with a copy of the new course description. The "how-to" document was nothing special. It simply suggested that they think about their own interests and motives for enrolling, check the Tables of Contents and indexes to see what various authors emphasized, leaf through each volume for its general impression, and read a few sections at random to sample the writing style. By the time of the second class meeting each student was to have selected his or her own text.

The first class meeting started just as I had always begun, with a pretest. Then we discussed the three different ways students could pursue the course.

1. They could simply work alone on their own text dealing with three basic questions for each of its major sections: (a) What are the major concepts or principles given as fact, as known? (b) What are the issues, concepts, principles under further scrutiny, which are organizers for further research, and (c) For one of those issues, what major findings have been reported in pertinent journals during the last five years? If several students pursuing the same text wanted to tackle these questions together they could form a group to do so, except that each person would have to do the journal search on a different issue.

2. Students could form small multi-text groups. These groups would deal with the same three questions, except that their responses would also identify differences among the authors in assertions about what was known, and about the important issues requiring further research. In these groups each student would also select one of those issues for a journal search and report.

3. Individual students, in consultation with me, could identify a personal concern, social problem, or other question of interest and develop a learning contract through which they (a) examined one or more texts for pertinent principles or concepts, and (b) searched journals during the prior five years for pertinent information, (c) and carried out other small research projects, field studies,

interviews and the like as a basis for a final report.

Class meeting time was used to create summary answers to the two general questions which represented the diverse views of the various authors and identified their differences, and to hear and discuss reports concerning the issues pursued through journal searches. Thus the outcome from three or four weeks devoted to perception, for example, would be a list of the major concepts agreed upon by all twelve authors, a second list of those where there was more limited consensus, a third list of major research questions, and brief summaries of recent findings concerning the particular research questions which students had selected for further study. We repeated that cycle for learning, motivation and human development and used the last session to hear reports from students pursuing individual contracts.

Formative evaluation by myself and the students occurred during the course of the semester through reactions to the group and individual reports. The final grade was based on these evaluations plus performance on the multiple choice final exam taken by all students regardless of the study option they chose.

That first fall fifty-five students enrolled. All twelve textbooks were used though two were especially popular. As far as I could tell one was popular because it had a very creative format, with lots of inserts, exercises, diagrams and so forth. The other was popular

primarily because it was very thin and also because its strong physiological orientation made it distinctive for those students with special interests in that area.

Six students pursued individual contracts: of these two focused on issues concerning sexual behavior and sexual identification, one on civil liberties, one on aggression and hostility, and another on the causes of academic underperformance. I can't remember the sixth. Nine persons chose option one and simply pursued a single text; three of these worked alone and there was one two and one four person group. The remaining forty sorted into six multi-text groups; varying in size from five to eight.

Pre-post gains differed from the previous four years in two ways: (a) the average gain was about half a standard deviation higher, and (b) the range and standard deviation on the final was smaller. But two other outcomes were perhaps more important. Student course evaluations in terms of satisfaction, perceived benefit to themselves, and perceived sense of psychology as a live discipline dealing with complex issues were much more positive. I had a lot more fun and learned a good bit myself from the process. I taught this course basically the same way the following year with forty-three students with essentially the same result.

Now my purpose in sharing this detailed description and modest success story with you is not to urge you to go and do likewise. My purpose is to provide a concrete example which we can look at through the lenses provided

by Løevinger's conceptions concerning ego development to see whether we get any insight concerning why this course seemed to be more effective than my earlier straightforward text-lecture-exercise-exam approach.

I might add that back in 1964 and 1965 when I taught this course, none of these potential interactions between developmental stage and learning processes had occurred to me. The three options simply seemed to make sense in terms of my past experiences with diverse students, at Goddard College in the woods of Vermont, where we came to know our students well and where individual learning contracts and degree programs were used quite extensively.

In retrospect it's quite easy to see how the three major options coincided rather nicely with the conformist, conscientious and autonomous stages of ego development most characteristic of college students. The first single text option allowed students to function in conceptually simple terms, relying on a single authority, addressing the required questions and obtaining the necessary information with a minimum of uncertainty and ambiguity. The class sessions provided them with additional reinforcement concerning the concepts and issues they identified and also supplied handy lists of additional concepts to add to their notebooks. For the six who worked together on a single text there was not much occasion for critical reactions or probing questions. Any disagreements were rather easily resolved by going to their common text and identifying the right answer.

Feedback and evaluation from peers was minimal because the amount of contribution one student could make to another was quite limited, assuming that the basic reading had been done.

The six groups which used the multi-text option had a more complex challenge. Each participant not only had to identify the major points for his or her text, but had to explain those with sufficient clarity to ascertain the points of agreement or disagreement with other textbook authors. There were no right answers here. Recognizing shades of gray, tolerating ambiguity, defining the shifting boundaries between what was known and what needed further research, all required more sophisticated skills of analysis, synthesis and evaluation. Feedback and evaluation from peers within groups was substantial and continuous because each person in the group had a stake in understanding the reports of others so that the group report would be sound and complete. Feedback and evaluation occurred across groups during class sessions where the strengths and weaknesses of various group reports quickly became apparent.

The six students pursuing individual contracts had the opportunity to define their own purposes, specify in more detail the readings, writings, and other activities they would pursue, and negotiate the methods and criteria for evaluating the contract work with me. Peer evaluation was limited, but self evaluation was much more salient. These students had to resolve trading off comprehensive coverage and the potential for a lower

final exam score, in favor of more detailed learning about a particular topic of interest to them. I was much more a resource person and in a more collegial relationship than was the case with other students pursuing the first two options.

Let me conclude this example with some comments about what I would do differently were I to teach this course again. First, as part of the initial course description, I would share the ideas presented in the earlier part of this paper concerning interactions among ego development, orientations toward knowledge and educational practices and ask them to think about how they want to pursue their study in the light of those ideas. I would flesh out the ideas more concerning these interactions than I have in this brief paper and have back-up readings available in case they wanted more detail. I would encourage them to think about how they might create developmental challenges for themselves as they made decisions about the option they chose, and encourage them individually or in groups to negotiate with me other options which might better serve their needs while also addressing the basic objectives of the course. Then at the end of the course I would ask for a retrospective essay concerning the interactions between their learning and their personal development and whatever implications they might see for future course or non-course activities in the service of their own learning and development. I have been using devices similar to this in my doctoral seminars in higher education and I see no reason why

they would not work equally well with undergraduates whose basic verbal and cognitive skills are adequate to the task.

To recapitulate then, I have argued that psychology teaching should intentionally encourage adult development and that by explicitly recognizing key dimensions of development we will more effectively achieve our own teaching objectives and more general objectives of the profession. Such efforts are consistent with the traditional mission of the university and with the requirements of psychology's varied professions. We know enough to undertake such efforts; the behaviors and resources required are workable and within the repertoire of most good teachers, and these strategies can be used throughout our curriculum.

Before closing I want to address one final issue, the issue of human engineering and social control. I am proposing the colleges and universities, and we psychologists especially, become more intentional and explicit in encouraging adult development. Indeed, in other writing (1981) I have proposed that major dimensions of adult development be taken as organizing frameworks which inform the full range of institutional efforts, from initial orientation and advising, through general education programs and core requirements, to concentrations, majors, and areas of professional specialization; I suggest that teaching practices and activities, residential arrangements, and other institutional environments be organized in ways which encourage such outcomes.

Nineteen eighty four is just around the corner. Am I encouraging its arrival? Am I proposing a system which will basically serve the current establishment, cool out hot sources of social transformation, subtly develop more refined procedures for grading, classifying and reinforcing class and ethnic categories? I have no clear cut answer to these critically important issues. But I can share my perspectives concerning them and the reasons I urge we push ahead in spite of these real dangers.

The basic reason to push ahead is that there really is no choice. It is not really a question of whether or not higher education should be in the business of human engineering and social control. It already is in that business. John Wilson, lecturer at Oxford, addresses the issue this way with reference to moral and ethical development:

Performance in the moral area is surely not wholly arbitrary. For instance, it seems clear that principles like "face facts," or "get to know yourself and other people" are required by anybody who is going to evolve his own moral beliefs in a serious and sensible way. Similarly qualities we may call "self-control" or "being able to act on one's own decisions" seem to be required by any person, whatever his particular moral values. If someone abandoned such general principles as these, we should say--not that we disagreed with his particular moral values, but that he was not

taking morality seriously at all. . . .

This is a matter of logic... it does not rest upon any particular creed, or faith, or an axiom. Such principles as "facing facts," "not contradicting oneself," gaining understanding and so forth... are part of what it means to be a thinking human being, as opposed to an animal or a psychopath. Understanding and following such principles is part of what we mean... by "being educated" in morality and other areas of life. They are an expansion of the concept of education itself, not a set of particular moral values. I repeat this because it is just as important that students... grasp this as educators should. They, and we, would rightly resent any attempt to foist a particular morality or faith on them, but no one can sensibly object to clarification of what it means to be educated in the moral area. (Collier, Wilson, and Tomlinson, 1974, pp. 7,8)

Laurance Veysey addresses the issue more broadly in his detailed study. The Emergence of the American University.

The university in the United States had become largely an agency for social control.... The custodianship of popular values comprised the primary responsibility of the American university. It was to teach its students to think constructively rather than with an imprudent and disintegrative independence. It was to make its degrees into syndicated emblems of social and economic arrival.

It was to promise, with repetitious care, that the investigations of its learned men were dedicated to the practical furtherance of the common welfare. It was to organize its own affairs to such a businesslike fashion as to reassure any stray industrialist or legislator who chanced onto its campus. It was to become a place prominently devoted to non-abstractive good fun: to singing and cheering, to the rituals of club life and 'appropriate' oratory; it was to be the place where the easy, infectious harmonies of brass band and stamping feet found few toes unwilling at least faintly to tap in time. (pp. 440-441)

To be sure Veysey goes on to recognize that this is not the whole picture.

The university also tolerated its minority of insistently vocal malcontents, unless they threatened flagrantly to harm its public name. The unhappy faculty 'idealist' survived.... Pockets of strenuous dedication to goals that were absurdly unpopular (for instance, too insistently democratic to be widely shared by the American people) persisted in odd places within the institution. (pp. 441-442)

But the dominant function was induction -- carrying out the rites de passage -- into the middle and upper-middle class and social control in the service of those values.

There is not much question as to whether the academic system, in our two- and four-year colleges and universities, public or private, church-related or not, are in the business of social control and shaping human lives. They are. It is the bedrock basis for state support, federal incentives and tax exempt status. Nor is there much question that we psychologists in our teaching practices, course content and professional behavior do likewise.

Given this fact where am I left with my recommendation for intentional devotion to adult development? I am brought directly to questions like these. What consequences will follow greater awareness of interactions between self and system? Consequences for individuals? Consequences for society? If increasing numbers of persons become aware of life-cycle trajectories and through that awareness take a more active part in creating their own futures, what then? If men and women throughout the life cycle become more aware of the opportunistic, conformist, conscientious, and autonomous dimensions of ego development and of the dominant structures organizing their existence; if they can understand their dualistic thinking, or unfettered relativism, in the context of larger conceptions of moral and ethical development, how will their frameworks for judgment and action change? If they understand better the experiences which work for and against their own humanitarian concern, what conditions will they establish for themselves in the future and to what ends? If they see more clearly the forces steering their

own professional or vocational development, recognize more fully the path on which they are set, contemplate the pros and cons of alternative directions, what will result? If they develop increased interpersonal competence and capacity for intimacy will that development be turned toward manipulation and exploitation, or will it not? If they acquire more clear purposes, through better grasping the complex interactions among individual goals, institutional objectives and social values, what form will those purposes take?

My answers to those questions came down on the positive side, both for individuals and for society. Although I make no claim for definitive evidence, what evidence there is supports my optimism. The evidence to date does indicate that the direction of change in ego development is toward integrity, not toward opportunism, that moral and ethical development is toward commitment in relativism which places human welfare as the highest value. It indicates change toward increased intellectual competence and complexity, toward increased concern for collaborative inquiry modes and for intimate relationships which involve the expansion of caring. Individual purposes and identities do become more clear and strong; with age they are put in the larger perspectives of institutional objectives and social values. Persons do learn how to learn and how to take charge of their own development.

Given the social forces and cultural contexts at play with all of us, we seldom reach those developmental goals we value. Our becoming typically falls short of that which we would become. But the striving is there in most of us. And the directions of our strivings are documented by increasingly wide-spread evidence congruent with major conceptual frameworks concerning adult development. Thus it is that I argue for increased attention to those striving, increased opportunities for each person to define more clearly those developmental issues significant for him or her, increased devotion of institutional resources and expertise in the service of those purposes.

Table 1. Some Milestones of Ego Development

Stage	Code	Impulse Control, Character Development	Interpersonal Style	Conscious Preoccupations	Cognitive Style
Presocial			Autistic		
Symbiotic	I-1		Symbiotic	Self vs. non-self	
Impulsive	I-2	Impulsive, fear of retaliation	Receiving, dependent, exploitative	Bodily feelings, especially sexual and aggressive	Stereotyping, conceptual confusion
Self-Protective	Δ	Fear of being caught, externalizing blame, opportunistic	Wary, manipulative, exploitative	Self-protection, trouble, wishes, things, advantage, control	
Conformist	I-3	Conformity to external rules, shame, guilt for breaking rules	Belonging, superficial niceness	Appearance, social acceptability, banal feelings, behavior	Conceptual simplicity, stereotypes, cliches
Conscientious-Conformist	I-3/4	Differentiation of norms, goals	Aware of self in relation to group, helping	Adjustment, problems, reasons, opportunities (vague)	Multiplicity
Conscientious	I-4	Self-evaluated standards, self-criticism, guilt for consequences, long-term goals and ideals	Intensive, responsible, mutual, concern for communication	Differentiated feelings, motives for behavior, self-respect, achievements, traits, expression	Conceptual complexity, idea of patterning
Individualistic	I-4/5	Add: Respect for individuality	Add: Dependence as an emotional problem	Add: Development, social problems, differentiation of inner life from outer	Add: Distinction of process and outcome
Autonomous	I-5	Add: Coping with conflicting inner needs, toleration	Add: Respect for autonomy, interdependence	Vividly conveyed feelings, integration of physiological and psychological, psychological causation of behavior, role conception, self-fulfillment, self in social context	Increased conceptual complexity, complex patterns, toleration for ambiguity, broad scope, objectivity
Integrated	I-6	Add: Reconciling inner conflicts, renunciation of unattainable	Add: Cherishing of individuality	Add: Identity	

NOTE: "Add" means in addition to the description applying to the previous level.

Loevinger, Jane Ego Development, Jossey-Bass Publishers, San Francisco, 1976, pp 24-25

Figure 2. Ego Development and Orientations Toward Knowledge.

Ego Development	Motive for Education	What is Knowledge?	What Use is Knowledge	Where does Knowledge Come From
Self-protective Opportunistic	instrumental; satisfy immediate needs	A possession which helps one get desired ends; ritualistic actions which yield solutions	Education to get: means to concrete ends; used by self to obtain effects in World	From external authority; from asking how to get things
Conformist	Impress significant others; gain social acceptance; obtain credentials and recognition	General information required for social roles; objective truth given by authority	Education to be: social approval, appearance, status used by self to achieve according to expectations and standards of significant others	From external authority; from asking what others expect and how to do it
Conscientious	Achieve competence re competitive or normative standards. Increase capacity to meet social responsibilities	Know how: Personal skills in problem solving; divergent views resolved by rational processes	Education to do: competence in work and social role; used to achieve internalized standards of excellence and to serve society	Personal integration of information based on rational inquiry; from setting goals; from asking what is needed, how things work, and why
Autonomous	Deepen understanding of self, world, and life cycle; develop increasing capacity to manage own destiny	Personally generated insight about self and nature of life; subjective and dialectical; paradox appreciated	Education to become; self-knowledge; self development; used to transform self and the world	Personal experience and reflection; personally generated paradigms, insights, judgments
Integrated				

Note: Just as each developmental stage incorporates and transforms earlier stages, so also each subsequent learning process and institutional function incorporates and transforms earlier levels.

Source: Personal communication; adapted from materials developed by Harry Lasker and Cynthia DeWindt, Harvard Graduate School of Education.

Figure 3. Ego Development and Educational Practice

Ego Development	Learning Processes	Institutional Function	Teaching Practice	Student-Faculty Relationships	Evaluation
Self-protective Opportunistic	Imitation; acquire information, competence, as given by authority	Arouse attention and maintain interest; to show how things should be done	Lecture-exam	Teacher is authority, transmitter, judge; student is receiver, judged	By teacher only
Conformist		Provide predetermined information and training programs; certify skills and knowledge	Teacher led; dialogue or discussion Open "leaderless" "learner centered" discussion	Teacher is a "model" for student identification	By teacher only By teacher and peers
Conscientious	Discover correct answers through scientific method and logical analyses; multiple views are recognized but congruence and simplicity are sought.	Provide structured programs which offer concrete skills and information, opportunities for rational analysis, and practice, which can be evaluated and certified	Programed learning; correspondence study; televised instruction	"Teacher" is an abstraction behind system. Student a recipient	By system
Autonomous	Seek new experiences; recognize past conception on the basis of new experiences; develop new paradigms; create new dialectics	Ask key questions; pose key dilemmas; confront significant discontinuities and paradoxes; foster personal experience and personally generated insights	Contract learning: 1. Time, objectives, activities, evaluation negotiated between student and teacher at the outset and held throughout	Student defines purposes in collegial relationship with teacher; teacher is resource, contributes to planning and evaluation	By teacher, peers, system, self; teacher final judge
Integrated			Contract learning: 2. Time, objectives, activities, evaluation defined generally by student, modifiable with experience		By teacher, peers, system, self; self judge

Note: Just as each developmental stage incorporates and transforms earlier stages, so also each subsequent learning process and institutional function incorporates and transforms earlier levels.

Source: Personal communication; adapted from materials developed by Harry Lasker, and Cynthia DeWindt, Harvard Graduate School of Education